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[144] narrows gave circumstantial accounts. For instance one old woman said, "Yes, Kolura gave birth in this fashion. The placenta also was discharged through the anus. People placed a poultice of leaves on her as one would for a wound. It was just that the child took the wrong path. Another time, Kolpeda had me for a midwife. The child's head appeared through the anus, so I massaged the child back into the abdomen, turned it around, and brought it out through the proper passage." I must confess myself at a loss to explain this particular fantasy.

[137] In connection with other topics, reference has been made to continence practiced by men and to frequency of intercourse. Men report that during their early married life they have intercourse sometimes as frequently as every night, but that every other night is considered more nearly the average. However, when a man has two or more wives this may mean that a woman has fewer opportunities for sexual activity than her husband. Further, it will be recalled that men are not supposed to [137] [139] have relations with their wives from the beginning of pregnancy until the child can sit up, or at the very least begin to laugh. This is a period [141] of about twelve to fifteen months. They are also not supposed to sleep with a menstruant.

This might impose considerable restraint on men if they observed the restrictions, which often they do not, and if no other women were available. Furthermore, men are generally expected to be continent during the months of preparation attending financial displays. All these factors might seem to place men under considerable periods of restriction. Probably a man who wishes to avoid them is quite able to do so either by finding other women, especially widows, or by simply disregarding the proscriptions in respect to his wife. Since these proscriptions have no attached sanctions, the attitude of his wife will be the determinant should he wish to disregard them.

[153] A man's unfaithfulness may have deleterious effects on his children. [154] During the course of eighteen months there were several cases in which sick infants were taken to seers to have extracted from under their sternum a piece of a woman's belt string. This is considered a sure proof that the father has been unfaithful to the child's mother. In none of these cases did the mothers take any drastic action against the men. Their attitudes were those of quarrelsome reproach and did not lead to divorce proceedings. These were among the few instances in which personal hostilities were not translated into financial terms and fought out on that level.

[151] Attitudes toward the male organ were difficult to determine but by indirection certain hints were available. For instance, gossip had it that

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sex hang back or seem ashamed. He was very lucky at raising pigs, so a man from Atimelang wanted to marry him. He too wanted to marry that man. So the man from Atimelang paid a two-dollar-and-fifty-cent rusko for him and tried to sleep with him but could not. Then the man said to Aburkaseni's brother, 'I won't have children if I stay with him, so you had better pay back my rusko.'

"After that they changed him into a man. He was about twelve then. His older brothers told him to shoot and make war. When he was just learning, people laughed at him but soon he was very skillful and then people didn't laugh at him any more. People would test him. They would send him to cut down trees. With just a few strokes on both sides of a tree, he would fell it. Then people would say, 'This is a very strong man.' He was brave and would lead war parties. He became a killer (*bibi*, a title of distinction). Once when a man slept with his nephew's wife, he led all the other kin in avenging the matter by going out into the adulterer's field, chopping down his crop, and burning down his house.

"He built himself a house and lived alone. He worked in the fields and cooked for himself. He could pound rice just like a woman.

"When he was middle aged, people said, 'He should not be single. Let's give him a widow.' So they gave him Kolowani, who already had grown children. He wanted to sleep with her and she wanted to sleep with him, but he couldn't. She was happy to stay with him anyhow. He just bought her in vain. He paid her bride-price and gave her parents' death fines for her."

In connection with sex behavior and attitudes there are some further topics that deserve comment. Women's menstrual periods have already been referred to as passing with a minimum of observances and notice. The only terms for menses that I procured were euphemistic ones, "my friend" or "headache." In a subsequent section it will be seen that the monthly flow is attributed to the breaking of egglike structures in the breast, which are then discharged. Women use dry, porous banana bark as pads. These are then thrown away in some distant place. No one is supposed to see them, not even a kinswoman. During her periods a woman should wear a shawl that covers her body more completely and prevents any possible detection of stains on her loincloth. The number of days between periods is not known. Instead a woman approximates the onset of her periods by the recurrence of the phase of the moon during which her last period occurred. The cessation of menses is recognized as the beginning of pregnancy. During menstruation women are not supposed to feel sexual desires and similarly men

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are not supposed to desire women in that condition. Informants report that discomfort is rare and takes the form of only a slight headache or backache. During this time, however, women are inclined to do less work. One woman said, "If a husband orders his wife to do work when she has her friend, older people will say to him, 'Are your eyes closed? Don't you see how your wife is?' A good husband will even cook for his wife at this time."

In connection with late childhood certain references were made to just how far children might go in sexual references before adults were shocked and interfered. It is quite obvious that sexual topics are not tabooed, but it is rather the nature of the reference that is shocking or not. Probably one of the most acute sources of shame in relation to sex is public intercourse. Several pieces of gossip on that score were whispered about the community or were sources of open scandal. Again I had to depend on Fanton the interpreter alone for such material.

"Palolafeli was married to Fahongamau. She didn't want to sleep with him. He got very angry and made a litigation. The chief said he would have to have intercourse with her right there. The matador held Fahongamau. Palolafeli was ashamed, but the chief made him sleep with her outdoors on the dance place. Everyone was ashamed and went up into their houses except a couple of older men who aren't ashamed of anything.

"People are ashamed when a woman like Lapuda (who was subject to attacks of hypersexitability) begins playing with an older man, touches his genitals, or hits him. Sometimes a husband and wife will fight and the wife will rip off a husband's loincloth. That makes him and everyone else terribly ashamed. A man will never touch a woman's loincloth. It would spoil his luck.

"Once the chief of Fungatau was away from home for several days. When he returned, he found that his wife had left to come home to her family here. He came to look for her and called for her to come down from her family's house. She knew what he wanted. There were many people there and she just sat close to her mother. Her husband came up and began fighting with her. They fought terribly and he ripped off her loincloth and wanted to have intercourse with her right there before all the people. He was like a crazy person. All turned their backs and were ashamed. Finally everyone helped to drag them out of the house. They went on fighting down on the verandah. The girl's mother said they were terrible and tried to chase them away.

"Another time he acted the same way when his wife was working together with many people in the fields. Everyone went off but the

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159 played cards and I lost half a rupiah, so I had only two left. [The informant's account seemed full of internal contradictions.]

[It was evident at this point that the informant was blocking in his autobiography. I dropped the daily sessions for three days. During that time Fantan was engaged in a vigorous quarrel with his wife, Tilaman.
[126] On the fourth day he came early in the morning and told me the following story, which I have recast into the third person and in which I have inserted such observations as I was able to make.]

November 22, 1938

[205] About a month ago Fantan's wife gambled and lost her dance necklace and anklets. Fantan said he gave her money to try to win them back, but she only lost that too. He was angry, and in telling me about it he put his anger on the moral basis that women should not play cards though it was all right for men. "Young women can play cards because they don't have to work and remember their families, but married women have to work. Besides, women just go on and on. They gamble
[192 away all they have, even their shawls. If they don't have shawls to wear
194] during their menstrual periods it isn't nice."

On Friday (November 18) Fantan was wandering about and joined in a game in a remote garden house where some unmarried girls were gambling. One of the girls, Fungata, had just lost most of her anklets and her necklace. She had only two anklets left. Fantan said if she would give him her two remaining anklets he would win the others back for her. He lost the two anklets and then said (although he admitted to me that he was lying) that he had twenty-five cents in his pocket and would stake fifteen cents of that against the lost articles. He had a winning streak and won back all that the girl had lost. Instead of keeping them, as he was entitled to do, he returned them to her.

Early Sunday morning (November 20) while he was away two of the girls present at the gambling told his wife about the episode. When he returned from an early market where he had been with me, his wife berated him for returning the jewelry to Fungata when she herself had none, and for not winning hers back for her. She asked if Fungata were his sister or maybe his wife and implied that he had had intercourse with her. She boxed his ears, and he picked up a rattan switch and hit her twice across the thigh. She took her field knife and hit his shoulder with the flat of the blade. He was terrorized and told me he had a large wound. This was patently untrue; he had not even a scratch. When I pointed this out he said, "Well, I might have had a large wound."